

Presidential Address

3RD ANNUAL SESSION

BHARATYA JANA SANGH



BY

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JODHPUR, DEC. 30th, 1954.

ARJUN PRESS,
DELHI.

Brother Delegates,

I feel overwhelmed by the honour you have done and the responsibility it entails upon me by unanimously electing me President of this great organisation. I thank you all for reposing this trust in me.

Bhartiya Jana Sangh as an all India organisation was founded and nobly nursed in its infancy by his very life blood by a great son of Bharat Mata, our late lionhearted leader, Dr. Bhanu Prasad Mukerji. He laid down his life for the sake of Bharat's Unity, for the vindication of the great ideal of one Constitution, one President and one flag in our one and indivisible motherland on the sacred soil of Kashmir in response to the call of the suffering humanity of that State which was groaning under the blows aimed at severing them from their Bhartiya brethren and their common motherland.

Conscious of my limitations as I am, I do not feel strong enough to fill the place of that great Statesman, Parliamentarian, and above all Patriot. But as a humble devotee of his I could not refuse your call to carry on his unfulfilled mission with all my strength. It is perhaps in the fitness of things that a representative of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for whom he laid down his life has been called upon to carry on his life mission. I, therefore, deem it to be more an honour done to the people of Jammu and Kashmir State, to its hardy fighters and martyrs, who laid down their lives for India's Unity along with Dr. Mukerji than to me personally. I also give an indication of the Jana Sangh approach to the problem of Kashmir.

Kashmir is Integral Part of Bharat :

That approach has been repeatedly made also to the people and Government of Bharat. Jana Sangh looks upon Jammu and Kashmir State as an integral part of Bharat like any other part of our great country. Its integration with the Indian body-politic constitutionally and economically, therefore is not and should not be treated as a matter of discussion. Nor an inch of it can be alienated to any foreign country. No person or group of persons can be allowed to

demand its alienation to Pakistan simply because they do not want to live in Bharat. That people of any particular area of our land should decide whether that area should or should not remain a part of India is a pernicious principle. If countenanced, whether directly or indirectly, it will lead to Balkanisation of our country.

It is therefore, the considered view of the Jans Sangh that all talk of plebiscite in Kashmir is irrelevant and altogether unconstitutional. Jammu and Kashmir State should be, at the earliest possible, brought in line with other Part B States of the country in all respects and steps be taken for the redemption of the territories still unconstitutionally and aggressively occupied by Pakistan.

At the same time speedy steps should be taken to establish an efficient and democratic administration in the State. The State Constituent Assembly which was convened for the specific purpose of ratification of accession has done its job. It has outlived its object. It is now torn between communists who hold the whip hand in the administration and pro-Abdullah communalists. The communists are fast making the State into a communist strong hold which, in view of the growing American influence in the Pakistan-held Kashmir, is turning the State into another storm centre of the cold war between the two ideological blocks in which the world stands divided. Such a situation is fraught with grave dangers not only to the State but also to the peace and security of the whole of Bharat.

It has, therefore, become imperative that the Government of India should take early steps to save the internal situation from further deterioration, which is evident in all spheres of the administration. Corruption and nepotism are rampant everywhere. All traditions and principles of good administration are being neglected and merit is openly disregarded in matter of recruitment to State Services. A communal partisan policy is being pursued in the matter of rehabilitation of the refugees from Pakistan-held territories. Discriminatory policies have led to strangulation of their economic life.

Hindi the national language of Bharat is being treated as a foreign language. All this has shaken people's faith and confidence in the administration. I feel that State needs the services of some able administrators to restore peoples' confidence in the ability and integrity of its administration. Along with it steps should be taken to hold fresh elections to the State Assembly so that a normal democratic Government in line

with other States be established in Jammu and Kashmir as well. The elections in the State should be conducted by the Election Commission of India and Election of the State representative in the Lok Sabha should be direct. For purposes of better administration and completion of accession the jurisdiction of Auditor General of India and Supreme Court should be extended to the State in full.

At the same time steps should be taken to take the Kashmir issue out of the vortex of international power politics by withdrawing it from the U. N. O. Much of our troubles in Kashmir are in fact, due to a lack of national approach to the problem and too much stress on internationalism which seems to have become an obsession with some of our leaders. It is true that science has cut down distances and has brought all nations of the world very much closer to one another. But at the same time we must not forget that national boundaries still not only continue to divide different countries on the map of the world but there are efforts in some parts of the world to deepen them further. In this situation our looking at our domestic problems through international glasses can neither do any good to Bharat nor even to a world scared by the Hydrogen Bomb.

Unless Bharat can solve her national problems with a national outlook and effort, she cannot be an effective factor for peace in the world. This excess of internationalism has been both the cause and the effect of the foreign policy that Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru has been following since the advent of freedom.

Foreign Policy

This foreign policy has been receiving good deal of prompting by its authors and bits of appreciation given by some foreign journals and Statesmen are being widely circulated to create a sort of zealous fervour and approbation for it in the public mind. But what is its reality?

The test of the foreign policy of any country is its success or failure in safeguard and further the national interests through peaceful diplomatic means and not the bits of praise it receives from some interested people or countries for the part played by it in taking other peoples' chestnuts out of the fire for them. The success or failure of India's foreign

policy will have to be judged by the results achieved by it in Kashmir and Goa where not only vital national interests but the very integrity and security of the country are at stake; also by its ability to safeguard the interests of overseas Indians who are being persecuted in so many ways in South Africa, Ceylon, Malaya, and other countries, and by its handling of the Indo-Pakistan problems, which affect the lives of our people directly, and not by the results achieved by it in respect of Korea or Indo-China. The problem of peace in Korea and Indo-China is no doubt important. But we must see that we do not harm our own fingers while doing Shani Yajna for others.

Bharat's love for peace needs an announcing. Peaceful co-existence of all peoples, religions and forms of thought has been the eternal message of Bharat whose sages preached brotherhood of man—

सर्वेभ्यः सुखिनः मनु सर्वे सन्तु निरासदा
सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु मा कश्चिद् दुःख मास भवेत्

"Let all live in peace and all be without trouble" at a time when the law of the jungle prevailed in most parts of the present day civilized world. History bears it out that we never followed through blood to deprive others of their liberties nor did we ever seek to spread our ideas and ideals. We never built an empire over heaps of the dead. We ruled over the hearts of the people whom we gave the light of civilization and culture.

But we must not forget that good and evil is mixed in this world. Thorns are there along with flowers. There are good people as also bad people. While we should be ever ready to help the good and the noble, we should be prepared to meet the challenge of the evil as well.

Communist Menace :

Bharatiya Jana Sangh supports the policy of non-involvement in the conflicts between the two power blocs of the world. It, therefore, wants that Bharat should not unnecessarily entangle or interest herself in international conflicts. By poking our nose in problems and issues with which Bharat is not directly concerned we can only harm the best interests of the country.

The policy of keeping aloof from the Russian and American blocs is in the best interests of the country. But the way this policy is being given effect to has created an impression not only within the country but also in the outside world that Bharat is steadily moving towards the totalitarian camp. Jana Sangh is not opposed to friendly relations with China and Russia. We want to be friends with all. But we should be careful that this friendship is not exploited by Communists to further their anti-national moves. Whether Pt. Nehru's recent visit to China has brought about a change in that country's policy of open or secret penetration and intervention into neighbouring countries—of which Tibet is glaring example—is not, is a question the answer to which can be given only by the future. But his frequent and lavish praise of China has clearly resulted in increased Communist activity all over the country from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari with the overt and covert support and encouragement from the totalitarian states and their communist parties. The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other which forms the salient feature of Nehru-Chau declaration about "Panch-Sheila" has no meaning so long as the Indian communist party continues to be supported by China and Russia for carrying on their policies and propaganda in India.

An equally dangerous result of this is the growing hostility of U. S. A. as revealed through its military aid to Pakistan and increased activity of the agencies sponsored by it to counteract the growing communist influence in India and her neighbouring countries, particularly those lying near the Chinese border—Kashmir, Nepal and part of Bengal and Assam are fast becoming cock-pits for an intensive propaganda by both sides through their respective stooges. Whoever wins in this race of Russianising or Americanising the people, India's interest are bound to suffer.

It is, therefore, necessary that fresh thinking should be done about the country's foreign policy. It must be governed by the enlightened national interest and by the needs of country's integrity and security and not by fads or prejudices of any kind.

Problem of National Security :

This aspect of national security and integrity is of vital importance in any assessment of the country's foreign and domestic policies. National defence is the primary responsibility of the Government of any free country and failure to discharge it efficiently can undo every thing else.

National security in its turn is conditioned by a number of external and internal factors. The most important external factor is the attitude of immediate neighbours, their military strength and the circle of our own friends. The most important internal factors are internal unity based on a strong national feeling, industrial potential and military preparedness of the country.

At present there is a move to surround India by a ring of hostile countries. Pakistan is fast developing into a Military State. Her Military preparations have one and only one end in view—hostility to India. Pakistan was born out of enmity of its vocal classes to India which they looked upon as Dar-ul-Harb the land of enmity. Pakistan has been sustained by them all these years by keeping this feeling of enmity at a high pitch. They fully understand that Pakistan as it exists today is an absurdity, Geographical, cultural as well as political. This absurdity cannot be indefinitely perpetuated. They have been trying to sustain it by keeping the anti-Indian frenzy at a high pitch and they dream of perpetuating it by extending Pakistan to include the whole of India. American Military aid has naturally increased their potentiality for such a calculated mischief.

In the north peaceful Tibet is fast becoming a big Chinese military base and Nepal is in the process of breaking up. It has exposed our 3000 miles long northern frontier and rendered it vulnerable both for disruptive ideas and the guns and armies that are their real prop as per communist technique. And the heart of the country is developing a plague spot in the shape of Goa which is fast becoming a hostile military base. It would be unwise to minimise the grave threat to India's security, nay to her very existence as a free nation, involved in this situation.

To make things worse India has few true friends in the world today on whose support she can count in an emergency. Western bloc is hostile. The communist bloc can be expected to help only if India says good bye to her democratic freedom and joins the camp of totalitarian states.

The need of Strength :

The only effective safeguard against this threatening situation is internal strength based on industrial and military preparedness. Both are conspicuous by their absence today. India's armed strength is neither commensurate with her status and position as the fifth biggest country of the world nor is it

geared to the needs of the situation created by threatening preparations across the border in Pakistan, Goa and Tibet. It is alright to talk of peace. But peace cannot come by asking for it. Our neighbours may not allow us to live in peace. Strength is needed to win peace as much as it is needed to win a war. China talks of peace but supports a standing army of more than ten millions. That gives the edge to her talk for peace. The same is true of Russia and U. S. A. We on the other hand are doing precious little to make the country defence-conscious or developing her potentially for defence. It is the considered view of Jinnah that country needs to be awakened to the problems of the country's security and top priority should be given to the task of developing defence industries and otherwise militarising the country.

Re-birth of Muslim Communalism :

What is even more important is the internal unity which can grow only out of a strong national feeling. This is woefully lacking today. Casteism, provincialism, linguistic communalism and partisanship are raising their ugly head all over the country. And what is worse, the loyalty of the general mass of the Muslim population is once again being subverted by ex-leaguers and Mullahs. Ever since the advent of Islam in India fanatical Mullahs have been standing in the way of Indianisation of Muslims. They have been the spear heads of Muslim separatism and exponents of the antiquated dogma that no Muslim can be loyal to a state ruled over by non-Muslims as was testified by the ex-congressman Maulana Ata Ullah Shah Bokhari and other leading Mullahs of Pakistan before the Ambedkar-Raza Enquiry Commission at Lahore recently.

It was hoped that the Congress leaders would learn some lesson from Pakistan and try to secularise the Muslim mind by helping the disillusioned Indian Muslims to emancipate themselves from the clutches of Mullah and Aligarhi leadership. It could have been easily accomplished after the partition. But the Congress Leaders and Governments have done quite the opposite thing. They have forced Indian Muslims back into the clutches of these disruptionists by giving artificial and unnatural support and patronage to Jamiat-ul-Ulema and its leaders who masquerade as nationalist Muslims.

The need of Pure Nationalism :

The only effective remedy of this ill is to launch a concerted

ed programme for nationalising the outlook of Indian Muslims. That pre-supposed a clear understanding of the basic character of Indian nationalism. Jana Sangh has made it clear time and again that the very recognition of majorities and minorities based on religion in the political life of the country is negation of true nationalism and democracy. Jana Sangh looks upon the whole of India as one and indivisible organic whole with a common culture whose beauty and strength have been enhanced by its diversity. All those who owe first and foremost allegiance to this one and indivisible country and its common cultural heritage are nationals of India irrespective of their caste, creed or province. And those whose loyalty lies some where outside cannot be treated as nationalists.

The generality of Indian Muslims, Jana Sangh is convinced, would own India as their mother land and cherish her culture as their own if the policy of arousing and appeasing their separatist tendencies for political and party ends is stopped. Communalism is being kept alive in this country by Congress itself and, therefore, it alone is the really most communal organisation in the country. Jana Sangh on the other hand has taken its stand on the universally accepted principles underlying nationalism and it is convinced that, done alone can nationalise the outlook of the people of India and unite them in a national bond for the security and greater glory of the mother land. Jana Sangh, therefore, claims to be a truly nationalistic organization. The charge of communalism which is purposefully hurled against it by those who themselves are responsible for keeping communalism alive in the country is just like kettle calling the pot black. Jana Sangh is convinced that time is coming when the people of India will be able to distinguish nationalism of the Jana Sangh from the pseudo-nationalism of the Congress which is another name for appeasement of communalist Muslims.

Unitary Government for National Unity

The forces of casteism and provincialism are equally great dangers to the security and integrity of the country. They too are unfortunately being directly and indirectly encouraged by the man in power for party ends. The very conception of India as a "Union" and the terminology like "sub-continent" and "States" used by them betrays a woeful lack of appreciation of the fundamental unity of India as an organic whole. The concept of Union or Federation pre-supposes the existence of separate states prior to the coming into existence of the Union or the federation. India on the other hand has existed as one whole since the dawn of her history and

different provinces are just her limbs drawing life and sustenance from the common fountain of national life. The pattern of administration evolved by her people from the earliest times, therefore, is the one presenting a diversified local pattern enjoying a good measure of local autonomy, enabling them to preserve and enrich their local lines, bound together by a unitary centre at the top. That pattern represents in the political sphere the principle of unity in diversity which has been characteristic feature of Indian life.

Jana Sangh stands for the revival and resuscitation of that pattern through the establishment of a unitary form of government for the whole country. Such a system will reinforce the forces of unity without in any way harming the diversity and local autonomy of the village, Janapadas and Pradeshas through which India's life has been manifesting itself all through the ages.

It is really gratifying that a number of thinkers, administrators and politicians have supported the idea of Unitary Government as envisaged by Jana Sangh. That shows that the people have begun to appreciate the Jana Sangh stand in the matter. Jana Sangh hopes that the States Reorganisation Commission will give due weight to this viewpoint and help in saving the country from the disruptive influences of growing provincialism and casteism in the country.

Growing Unemployment :

In the economic sphere the country has made some good progress for which the planners of economic policy deserve congratulations. But even so our success has been neither sustained nor even unqualified. Production targets have been attained only to be lost. The great River valley Projects have been marked by culpable waste and long delays. The basic industrial structure of the country continues to be weak. Thanks to controls and corruption, vexatious labour laws and irrational tax structure, capital is being diverted more and more from industry into commerce and from commerce into speculation. Community projects have more propaganda value than economic.

Worst of all the unemployment situation has grown from bad to worse. It is a measure of the planlessness of our plan that during the very period of the plan unemployment should grow.

The situation created by economic insecurity and growing

unemployment particularly in the educated classes is being exploited by interested parties for creating an atmosphere of strife, suspicion and unrest through a wave of strikes. The government is not without its share of blame. By appointing a tribunal after tribunal for the settlement of Bank Dispute and not accepting their awards it has created economic uncertainty and mutual recriminations. Jans Sangh is of the definite opinion that economic progress is possible only through willing and peaceful cooperation of all. It does not believe in class, caste or community war which paralyse national will and strike at the roots of democratic life. Jans Sangh is of the opinion that strikes do great harm to the country. The only beneficiary of industrial war is the communist party which has a vested interest in creating discontent and fomenting chaos.

The Jans Sangh is convinced that this threat of industrial strife, economic unrest and growing unemployment to the national health cannot be efficiently met by patch work or by concessions to and compromises with labour here and there. Such a policy can not go to the root of the problem which is the poverty of our people. As the proverb goes, India is a rich country inhabited by a poor people. The way to liquidate the poverty of the people is to develop the country at a far accelerated pace than hitherto. Development pre-supposes investment and investment in turn pre-supposes profit saving and the whole thing involves an element of risk. It is, therefore, of the essence of things that right conditions should be created to conduce to this consummation. Unrestrained investments mainly in labour intensive projects, leading to heightened economic activity can go a long way in improving the employment situation.

The industrial policy will therefore have to be radically re-orientated if the monster of unemployment is to be effectively liquidated during the coming ten years. It is clear from the experience of the past three years that sufficient capital is not available in the country for proper development of big industry. Therefore if the great objective of "work for all" has to be achieved, the State will have to pay more and more attention to the small scale and cottage industries which should be made the very basis of industrial reconstruction of the country. Whatever has been done in this direction so far is too meagre and unsatisfactory.

Economic Reconstruction and Partisanship

Jans Sangh believes that the Government or the party in

power in itself cannot create such interest and fervour for hard work in the heart of the common man which is so essential for the success of any national plan. The party in power has singularly failed so far in creating and mobilising mass enthusiasm for economic reconstruction of the country on a non-party or all party level. Bhasa Swak Samaj has become just a part of the administrative machinery and the party in power wants to keep it under its own control. Non-official elements are being steadily eliminated from the Planning Commission and it would not be inappropriate to describe it almost as just a sub-committee of the cabinet. Prime Minister Pt. Nehru complained in the Lok Sabha the other day that political parties instead of lending a helping hand in the economic reconstruction considered criticism of what is being done, to be their main duty. But what has the party in power done to keep this national task above party politics, and to secure the cooperation of all elements for its fulfilment? Such cooperation needs to be invited not only for the execution but also for the preparation of the plan. Bhasa Swak Samaj is ready to make its offering in the 'Yajna' of national re-construction. It is for the party in power to create the proper atmosphere of good-will and cooperation on the all Bharat level for the achievement of the great objective of "work for all" and improvement in the living condition of the people in general making a concerted effort to secure active assistance of all nationalist parties in spite of political differences.

Attack on Civil Freedom

Bharat is a democracy. We must not be deflected from the democratic path in the least degree while making our economic plans or proceeding with social reforms. The present rulers of Bharat are loudest in their profession of democracy. But their actions betray a totalitarian mentality. Extension of Preventive Detention Act for a further period of three years, retrograde amendments in the Criminal Procedure Code, Press Act, and progressive efforts at increasing the powers of Police and the executive at the cost of the judiciary, are stifling the growth of democracy. These are signs of totalitarianism.

Ban Cow Slaughter

The way universal demand for ban of cow slaughter is being resisted is something repugnant to all democratic traditions. No democratic Government can go against the country's constitution and the recommendations of its own

experts. But in the matter of ban on cow-slaughter the present rulers have been persistently flouting for the last 7 years not only the directive principles of the Constitution but also the recommendations of the committee of experts appointed by themselves. Cow has been a point of honour and a symbol of national unity besides being the basis of our economic life all through the ages. The soul of Bharat will not rest in peace so long as cow slaughter is not completely stopped by legislation. I appeal to the rulers of the country not to create unnecessary bitterness on this question. Cow slaughter is bound to be stopped by law one day. Then why do not they take the credit for it and beholden the people by doing it right now? Otherwise they will have to do it under pressure of public opinion. But then history will have to record that Bharatiya rulers who persistently tried to solve the world problems by peaceful methods, failed to solve their own domestic problems by those very methods and that their own people had to follow the path of struggle, suffering and self sacrifice for the acceptance of their most just and national demands.

Hindu Marriage and Divorce Laws

Similarly in the sphere of social reform, the Government while moving with the times must at the same time pay proper attention to the sentiments of the people. So long as the society does not come forward for change in its structure through its own initiative, the reforms carried out by law cannot produce desired results. It is therefore necessary that there should be popular demand for such reforms before they are made into law. This demand should be the demand of the people and a handful of not of interested persons. Judged by this criteria, one has to admit that the Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill has been pushed through in haste. Bharatiya Constitution has suggested the necessity of one uniform civil law for the whole country. But not to speak of a uniform law for all, the present law amounts to degrading the Hindu institution of marriage half way down to the lower level.

If government is honestly determined to emancipate the Indian womanhood it must apply a uniform civil law to the entire Indian population without any distinction of caste or creed. If there can be one uniform marriage law in U. K. and France for all—including Muslims—and if Ata Turk could put his foot down on "Purdah" and polygamy and Arabic script without being denounced as enemy of Islam nothing stands in the way of professedly secular rulers of India to follow a logical line in these matters in India. Jna

Sangh fully realises the need for social reform. But it cannot welcome the prejudices of leaders to play havoc in the name of social reform, nor can it support creation and perpetuation of difference in the name of religion, in the sphere of social reform as well.

The people of India if they love their freedom, if they cherish their age old culture and heritage which has sustained us all through the vicissitude of history and if they do not want to lose their distinctive character they will have to assert themselves against the totalitarian and un-Indian trends of men in power. The possibility that congressmen, many of whom are known to be as much worried by such trends as we are, may do something to mend matter from within their organisation is daily getting dimmer.

It is, therefore, for the opposition parties to do this duty of awakening the people to the realities of the situation. The Communists cannot be expected to do it as they are the beneficiaries of this situation. The P.S.F. is not yet clear about itself. It does not know its own mind.

The only political party which has consistently and boldly voiced its opposition to the congress misrule, wanton neglect and even sacrifice of national interests to serve party ends and the materialistic trends of its leaders, and has placed a definite and workable pattern of life, grounded in the soil of the land, before the country is Bharatiya Jna Sangh. Its emphasis on proper coordination between Arta and Dharm, between economic reconstruction and moral and spiritual development, at the same time may not be intelligible to men brought up and suffused with the western materialistic concept of man and life. But the Indian humanity understands the significance of Bhajan with Bhajan. They need Bhajan. But emphasis on Bhajan without Bhajan has given rise to the decay in moral standards in all spheres of national life. India is losing her soul, her distinctive character, in blind obsession of its leaders for the materialistic values. The Bharatiya Jna Sangh is out to restore the balance between the body and soul, between material and moral values which must go together to make India a healthy member of the comity of nations, capable of playing its destined role of Jagat Guru. But that demands effort, herculean effort, an example of which was set before us by Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerji. He has bequeathed to us a great task which we have to complete. I cannot but repeat his prayer and exhortation at the time of the foundation of the Jna Sangh to the workers to fulfil that. He said:

"We enter upon our task with full faith, hope and courage. Let our workers constantly remember that only through service and sacrifice will they be able to win the confidence of the masses of the people. The great task of revitalising and reconstructing free Bharat awaits. The mother calls her children, irrespective of class, caste or religion to come to her and serve her. However dark the present clouds may be, Bharat has a great destiny to fulfil in the years to come. May our party whose symbol is a humble earthen "Pradip" try to carry this light of hope and unity, faith and courage to dispel the darkness that surrounds the country. May Providence endow us with strength and fortitude to remain ever on the right path, not cowed by fear or tempted by favours and help to make Bharat great and strong, spiritually and materially so that she may become a fit and true instrument in the preservation of world peace and prosperity."

Jai Bharat.